

My bill, which has been requested by the tribes and specifically incorporates 31 provisions of title I of the Indian Self-Determination Act into titles III and IV, is designed to remedy this situation.

H.R. —

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 403 of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (25 U.S.C. 458cc) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(1) INCORPORATION OF TITLE I PROVISIONS.—For the purposes of the following sections of title I of this Act, the term ‘contract’ also includes agreements authorized by this title and title III: 5(f)(1), 7(b), 7(c), 8, 102(d), 103, 104, 105(a)(3), 105(f), 105(k), 105(n) (at the election of, and subject to any phase-in period established by, any compact tribe, or any consortium of tribes that is a party to an annual funding agreement, in Alaska), 106(a), 106(b), 106(d), 106(e), 106(f), 106(j), 106(k), 106(m), 106(n), 110 and 111; and subsections (b)(5), (b)(6)(B)(iii), (b)(7)(A), (b)(8)(D) through (G), (b)(9) and (b)(10) of section 1 of the model agreement set forth in section 108(c).”.

TRIBUTE TO ANDRES C. GONZALEZ

HON. SOLOMON P. ORTIZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1995

Mr. ORTIZ. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to commend and pay tribute to a lifelong resident of Kingsville, TX, Andres C. Gonzalez—a man who has given of himself to his community, his State, and his country over the course of his life.

Andres Gonzalez is a patriot who answered his country's call to duty at an early age. He served with distinction, receiving the Bronze Star at the age of 18, while in the European theater in Italy during WWII. After outstanding and honorable service in WWII, Andy returned to his native Kingsville to serve his community in a host of ways and to serve his State in the Texas Army National Guard.

Andy served in the National Guard for 31 years and was the highest ranking Hispanic when he was honorably discharged. He had attained the rank of Command Sergeant Major in the Guard, and received many commendations of recognition for his outstanding service.

Andy won a host of awards including: the Texas Faithful Reserve Medal, the Army Reserve Components Achievement Award, the Past Commander American Legion Post 99, and several commendations for marksman-ship.

In his life outside the service of his country, he owned Andy's Upholstery Shop, ranched, and farmed. Andy gave back to his community by serving as the vice-chairman of the Kingsville Housing Authority, a member of the local P.T.A., the Kingsville Economic Development Council, the Texas A&M-Kingsville Alumni Association, and the United Steelworkers of America.

In Kingsville, he already has a street named after him, “Andres Gonzalez Circle.” I ask that my colleagues join me today in commending the life's work of this patriotic Texan whose dedication to home and country has made both a better place to live.

MOTION TO GO TO CONFERENCE ON H.R. 956, COMMON SENSE PRODUCT LIABILITY AND LEGAL REFORM ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. NANCY PELOSI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1995

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to oppose the legislation before us and to support the motion to instruct offered by the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. CONYERS. H.R. 956 is an undisguised attack on the safety of the American people that will result in more unsafe products, more injuries, and less compensation for those who are injured by corporate misconduct and negligence.

The motion offered by Representative CONYERS would instruct the conferees not to agree to any provision that would limit total damages for injuries to women, children, or elderly individuals to an amount less than that recoverable by other plaintiffs with substantially similar injuries.

Mr. Speaker, during the debate earlier this year on H.R. 956, it was demonstrated that our current State-based products liability system works well. It allows our citizens to seek redress when they have been injured by corporate negligence and it provides ample incentives to correct defective products when they cause harm.

My colleagues, this bill favors powerful corporations at the expense of women, the elderly, and all working Americans by limiting damages for noneconomic losses which represent a larger proportion of damages for these groups.

I urge a “no” vote on the ill-advised reforms contained in H.R. 956 and a “yes” vote on the Conyers motion to instruct conferees.

EXPLORING RACE RELATIONS

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1995

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, just recently, on October 26, 1995, the Executive Leadership Council and Foundation held its seventh annual recognition dinner. The leadership council is an association of African-American executives at Fortune 500 companies. I was pleased to join council president, Ann M. Fudge, and other members for this important celebration. Over the years, the leadership council has played a key role in fostering the enhancement of African-Americans in senior level positions throughout corporate America.

One of the highlights of the seventh annual recognition dinner was the evening's keynote address which was delivered by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. In addition to serving as honorary cochair for the dinner, Jordan is a senior partner at Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer, and Feld. He enjoys a close association with members of the leadership council and others who are committed to diversity in the workplace.

Mr. Speaker, in his remarks on race relations, Vernon Jordan explored the meaning of the Million Man March and the new leadership classes which now exist within the black com-

munity. Jordan also spoke of America's racial divide and cautioned that such a divide threatens our progress as a nation. He stated in his speech, “As long as black and white Americans continue to see each other as stereotypes and not as people with the same dreams, ambitions, and values, this Nation will be frozen with suspicion and hate.” He urged the audience to work toward the beloved community, black and white together.

Mr. Speaker, Vernon Jordan's speech before the Executive Leadership Council and Foundation was insightful and very timely. I am submitting for the RECORD the complete text of his remarks. I hope that my colleagues and others throughout the Nation will take a moment to consider his commentary on this important issue.

7TH ANNUAL EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP COUNCIL RECOGNITION DINNER

(By Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.)

These are, as the old Chinese curse has it, “interesting times.” First came the attacks on affirmative action. Then, the O.J. Simpson verdict. Most recently, the Million Man March.

Suddenly race relations—which had been invisible—have moved to center stage.

Suddenly, the idea of a color blind America in which race no longer matters much has been exposed as a fantasy.

Suddenly, settled notions about the role of race in our lives and in our society have been thrust into a sea of doubt and contradictory feelings.

This evening, I'd like to do a little thinking out loud about this confused and confusing situation with the members of the Executive Leadership Council.

Like many others, I'm trying to make some sense of the tremendous events of the past several weeks, and I have to tell you I'm not getting far.

But I am not alone—just about everything I've heard or read about those events tells me that no one else has, either.

That may be because events are at odds with the conventional thinking about race by blacks and whites on all points of the political spectrum.

All Americans must now confront the Kerner commission's warning that we are becoming “two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

And all Americans must be shaken by the strength of intolerance and extremism, and by the threat of retreat into racial isolation.

So long as black and white Americans continue to see each other as stereotypes and not as people with the same dreams, ambitions, and values, this Nation will be frozen in suspicion and hate.

Unless people of good will can move swiftly to bridge the racial divide, the short term emotional charge many black Americans felt in recent weeks may turn into increased suffering over the long term.

For example, the net result of the Simpson trial could be revised criminal laws that compromise the rights of the accused and put more of our young people behind bars.

And the net result of the march could be that both whites and blacks succumb to the siren song of separatism, and get trapped in the false assumption that the problems of the black community are self-inflicted and only solvable through black spiritual renewal.

Self-renewal is critical to black progress. But so is a concerted, bi-racial attack on the social and economic causes of black disadvantage and alienation.

The truth is that we can't solve America's racial problems separately. For at the root of those problems is separation itself. The

solution lies not in withdrawal but in reaching out.

But that view is in danger of becoming irrelevant in the wake of a successful march expressly limited to Black men.

So we need to look at why it happened, and why it was so successful. I do not fully understand it. But I do know that the march reflects something deep and profound that is going on in America today.

An analogue to the march is the growth of the predominantly white promise keepers movement, which fills stadiums with masses of men affirming their faith and responsibilities.

There seems to be a yearning for spiritual renewal in America that crosses the racial divide and finds expression movements like the million man march, the promise keepers, and others.

Are these male-oriented movements reaction to the new role of women in our economic life and the change in family structures?

Do they derive from economic insecurity driven by vast technological changes that have shattered old certainties and economic relationships?

When people are caught in the throes of sweeping economic changes beyond their control, and when income inequality shakes their self-image, they often turn to spiritual pursuits and traditional values.

And where will such movements go from here? Will a withdrawal to spiritual concerns mean abandonment of such public concerns as economic justice and social integration?

One might understand the march's stress on atonement in that light. What is atonement? Does it presume that it is wrong to pursue the American dream of a little white house with green shutters and a white picket fence. A car in the garage. A TV in the den, beer in the cooler, tuition for the children. Two weeks at the beach and a debt-free estate?

That question is relevant because most of the marchers were middle class—they were younger, better educated, and more affluent than most Black people.

Did the march have a political component? The polls found that four out of five marchers were registered to vote. Will they retain their commitment to the political process and intensify it by getting others to register and vote?

Finally, I have to ask whether the march was just another one of those "feel-good" events, where people let off steam and marching substitutes for concrete action to change the root causes of their dilemma.

Words are no substitute for action. But the march was a form of action—people traveled to the Capital, disrupted their daily lives, pledged to act differently, and behaved with great dignity.

And yet, the march remains shrouded in ambiguity.

If I am right in thinking that it reflects something going on in America that transcends race, then we need to figure out what it is and how to use it positively for Black people and the Nation.

That's a job for the institutions in our community equipped with the researchers and know-how to do it—the joint center, Howard University, and other repositories of Black intellectual prowess. They can help us understand this new, elusive spirit of our times, and help us decide upon a course of action.

But as we do, we must also understand the roles and functions of the division of labor in our community, especially as they have changed since the 1960's.

For there are now five distinct new leadership classes that have arisen alongside the traditional ones of Du Bois' "Talented

Tenth," such as the Black church, the press, the colleges, and the civil rights groups.

These new leadership groups include:

One, Black elected officials, many of whose constituents are White, Hispanic, and Asian.

Two, managers of predominantly white institutions, ranging from school superintendents and police chiefs, to foundation heads, college presidents and cabinet officers.

Three, indigenous community leadership, whose local organizations represent welfare families, public housing tenants and other community-based entities, and whose backgrounds are similar to those of their constituents.

Four, black entrepreneurs who produce goods and services for markets that extend beyond the black community.

Five, blacks in corporate America, as exemplified by the Executive Leadership Council.

These new leadership groups all share the experience of negotiating the deep and sometimes treacherous waters of majority institutions. Thus, they are well situated to bring a wider perspective to the issue.

That perspective is necessary if we are to make progress without being ensnared in futile arguments about self-defeating separatism and blind nationalism.

The new leadership groups can help inoculate us against demagoguery and extremism. They can bring powerful assets such as resources, skills and knowledge of the world beyond the confines of dysfunctional communities. Hopefully they can help answer the question asked in such pain and wonder in the heart of the ghetto—"Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there?"

As we assess the march, we should recall the words written many years ago by the great black historian. Carter G. Woodson:

"The race needs workers, not leaders," Woodson wrote. "If we can finally succeed in translating the idea of leadership into that of service, we may find it possible to lift the negro to a higher level."

Perhaps that is the true meaning of the march—the yearning of so many black men to be of service to the community.

But what about those who were not invited to the march—black women, white people, Hispanics, Asians—all of whom must participate in America's renewal and in bridging the gap between the races.

They must not be ignored, for the gap cannot be closed without them—because the only sane course of action lies within the context of an open, pluralistic, integrated society.

In "The Invisible Man," Ralph Ellison wrote: "Our fate is to become one, and yet many. This is not prophecy, but description."

We are a long way from that goal, and the path to it is an arduous one. There will be diversions along the route from both white racists and black separatists.

But it is the only route that leads to the attainable goal—and to a goal worth attaining.

From time to time, it will be tempting to withdraw from the struggle, to seek solace in the warmth and comfort of one's own community. But in the long run we cannot do the segregationists' work for them by excluding ourselves from our fair portion of the society we helped build. Nor can we allow white institutions such as corporate America to abandon the struggle. We must work toward "the beloved community," black and white together.

Those are some of the thoughts that come to mind as I've pondered the strange, changing state of race relations today.

I hope you—the Executive Leadership Council—will partake in the action and the passion of our turbulent times, dedicated to

service and to building an open, pluralistic, integrated society.

TEMPORARY INCREASE IN THE STATUTORY DEBT LIMIT

SPEECH OF

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 9, 1995

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to H.R. 2586, referred to as "The Short-term Debt Limit Extension bill." The Republican bill before us today provides a temporary increase of \$67 billion—raising the debt limit from \$4.9 to \$4.967 trillion. However, to force the President's hand in budget negotiations, the Republicans' bill lowers the debt limit to \$4.8 trillion on December 13. The Government has never defaulted on its principal and interest payments, so why now.

The Republicans have decided that they will only increase the debt limit if the President agrees to their reconciliation and appropriation budget measures that would devastate the well-being of children, seniors, and families.

Mr. Speaker, the President has said that he will veto such measures. The President's veto is the only hope that the children of this country have against the Republicans taking away their school lunches or their immunizations. It is the only hope that seniors have against having their health care premiums double, or their heating assistance taken away. And, it is the only hope that families have against having to use their mortgage payment to pay for nursing home care of their elderly parents, or to pay for their children's college tuition.

Mr. Speaker, what H.R. 2586 really is—is the Republicans' primary assault weapon in their attack on children, seniors, and families. Can the Republicans' tax cut for the wealthy justify the need to hold the country—the children, seniors, and families hostage.

It's time for the Republicans to be up front with the American people. Just tell the American people that you will not increase the debt limit unless the President agrees to gutting Medicare, destroying Medicaid, denying college students financial aid, and reducing nutrition programs for children.

There is no good faith in H.R. 2586. It includes provisions that cannot stand the scrutiny of hearings and real legislative debate from balancing the budget on the backs of the most vulnerable, to repealing habeas corpus, to dismantling the Department of Commerce.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to stand up for the rights of the American people, push for a clean debt limit measure. Vote "no" on H.R. 2586.

DEBT CEILING

HON. RICHARD E. NEAL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 13, 1995

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, last week on this floor I wanted the Congress to enact a clean debt ceiling extension; we failed to do it. We did not act responsibly.

Once again, we have a chance to enact legislation. Instead, we are voting on a motion